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STANDING ON THE FAMILY FARM IN TYSVÆR: HOW DID “KALLEKODT” BECOME “THOMPSON”?— HOW IS TYSVÆR PRONOUNCED?

ABSTRACT

This article explores the role that language plays in the legacy tourism business, an increasingly important sub-segment of the tourism industry. While seemingly obvious that those traveling to the land of their ancestors may request language help from migration institutions, past research has never asked representatives of migration institutions what help legacy tourists need. Delegates at a recent meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions participated in a survey about what they perceive to be the most important language needs of their patrons. Most indicated that while some nations, such as Scotland, emphasize that tourists should come learn the language of their ancestors, perhaps most language help by the migration institutions is fairly simple, such as explaining what a surname means. Motivations for interest in family history are also reported, with staff at migration institutions providing comparisons of their perceptions with those motivations reported by real legacy tourists. Norwegian-Americans serve as the ethnicity of emphasis in this paper because of the identifiable nature of Norway as an ancestral homeland in contrast to other ethnicities without a homeland with clear borders. Specific language marketing suggestions are provided for those who are associated with migration institutions and similar entities.

KEYWORDS: European migration institutions, legacy tourism, language of ancestors, personal identity

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, former Republican presidential candidate Rick Santorum discussed his working-class Italian ancestry and how that background helped to shape his values.¹ During the summer before the 2012 election, in one of many political jokes circulating on email, the following quote appeared,

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the Association of European Migration Institutions meeting in Aalborg, Denmark in October 2011.

“Why pay money to have your family tree traced; go into politics and your opponents will do it for you. ~Author Unknown.” Many Americans and citizens, in addition to politicians, around the world are increasingly interested in their ancestry, as evidenced by popular television shows such as “Who Do You Think You Are?” (versions airing in several different countries such as the US and the UK) and the PBS show “Finding Your Roots.”

As Norwegians and their descendants were celebrating *Syttende Mai* in 2012 (May 17, Constitution Day) there was a major trial occurring in Norway. While not Norwegian myself, I was in Norway on July 22, 2011 when a lone gunman bombed government buildings in Oslo and opened fire on many young people at a camp. For a while, the nation thought that it was Norway’s 9-11; in the end it turned out that the shooter was an extremist fighting against “multiculturalism.” Certainly, there was much self-reflection in the nation about what it means to be Norwegian and a discussion about values Norwegians hold. These tragic events do serve to remind us that the discussion of heritage and one’s ancestry can take on a very timely and poignant meaning.

I was visiting Norway gathering data for my continued research into the importance of “legacy tourism” (travel based on the desire to learn more about one’s “roots”) and was personally attempting to trace more ancestral information on my mother-in-law’s Norwegian heritage. In spite of my efforts, I am still puzzled as to why the family name “Kallekødt” became “Thompson” immediately upon arrival in Quebec in 1865 and I still am not able to correctly pronounce the name of the region, Tysvær. These linguistic failings prompted me to consider just what role language issues (and the monies that could be made from language efforts) play in the growing industry of legacy tourism.

In this article, I will explore the role that language plays in the legacy tourism business, an increasingly important sub-segment of the tourism industry. Some related language issues have been explored in *Global Business Languages* before (see Ray and Lete 2007, for a discussion of importance of Basques to Basque-Americans; and Kaupins, Ray, and Berzins 2009, for a discussion of Latvian language and heritage). But the discussion here focuses on more than simply the importance of Norwegian language to Norwegian-Americans, when researching this particular ethnic group. Research from members of the Sons of Norway is compiled that will preliminarily illustrate these language issues for Norwegian legacy tourism. Research on language issues gathered at a recent meeting of directors and staff at migration institutions across Europe is discussed and will highlight some language issues these institutions face when helping those engaged in legacy tourism. Finally,

managerial suggestions concerning language issues for those in this sub-segment of tourism are provided; there is an industry in providing language help for those tracing their roots.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Being a Detective in One's Own Detective Story

An advertisement for Ancestry.com airing on television in 2011 in the US shows a woman exploring her family history who states that she feels a bit like the family detective in her search. Then, she discovers that one of her ancestors really was a detective, so she is the "other family detective." The "detective work" and "thrill of the investigation" are some of the many motivations that people have when researching their family history. But, "the problem with being a detective in one's own detective story is that the trail goes cold" (Brown, Hirschman, and Maclaren 2000, 167). "It is always the responsibility of someone else, usually a member of the family ... who has taken it upon themselves to tend the family tree ... The genealogical information they have is unfailingly incomplete. ... genealogy, in truth, is ultimately about absence, because there is always an empty space at the end of the search, when whatever information there is finally runs out" (162). Often the role of the world's various migration institutions is to fill in absences by helping tourists engage in legacy tourism.

Legacy tourism is defined as "those that travel to engage in genealogical endeavors, to search for information on or to simply feel connected to ancestors or ancestral roots" (McCain and Ray 2003, 713). As Brown, Hirschman, and Maclaran (2006) point out, "the past is certainly a distant land and getting there is a difficult and imperfect undertaking" (87). In their 2000 article, they termed the past as "a foreign country" (174). In this current article, I emphasize the attempts at "getting there" (both figuratively and actually) to the "foreign country" from which ancestors left. "The present ... can never quite escape the past" (Delaney 2008, i). All present-day legacy (or "ancestral," "diaspora," "roots," etc.) tourists need to get to that distant land and perhaps speak that land's language; the route they take and the availability of the road maps (historical records) to help the modern day travelers get there, vary. For some, the journey is an important effort, necessary to one's personal identity; for others the destination (discovering records, finding an old homestead) is what adds to one's identity. In either case, language help may be needed. More and more academics are writing about legacy tourism, a growing sub-segment of the tourism industry, and more and more migration

institutions are realizing that they are being called upon to help tourists get to that distant land of the past.

In some cases, the ancestral homeland is well defined (e.g., Norway) and the present-day boundaries are similar to centuries-old boundaries. In other cases, descendants may wonder where the ancestral homeland lies. For example, America's Scotch-Irish (or Scots-Irish; the terms will be used mostly interchangeably in this article) have no "homeland" called "Scotireland" to search for.

Gould (2010, 181) found that individuals expressed their "true self" through their consumer behavior, which could include traveling to search for their ancestors. The creation of travel products, both the services and goods that go with tourism, is ultimately a joint creation of the traveler consumer and the destination provider in a process of co-design and co-delivery of the benefits sought by the consumer conforming to the concept of "bringing the consumer in" (Cutcher 2010). The legacy tourists exhibit a manifestation of Czarniawska's observations that "the Self is historical, and is both constituted by and constitutive of community." "The self is produced, reproduced and maintained in conversations, past and present" (Czarniawska 2000, 275). That community is the legacy tourist with the community of the tourist's ancestors. The conversations are the language of the research and touring behaviors of legacy tourists. They are consumers who are looking for tourism experiences to "link them with to others, to a community, to a tribe" (Cova 1997, 311). They have found their lineage to be the "linking value" that sustains their community or ancestral tribe connection. Their lineage, in some cases their ancestral name, forms their brand that yields value through a "sense of trust, affect, and shared meaning" (Arvidsson 2005, 236). A result of legacy travel is an expansion of family histories through generations that gives those histories longevity that creates that "something more that helps intensify life's purpose and meaning" (Cutcher 2010, 88). The family name (and the meaning of it) plays an important language role in legacy tourism.

Searching for ancestors may be beneficial to one's mental health. Psychologists have shown that thinking about our ancestors increases self-esteem. Scholars at the Universities of Graz, Berlin, and Munich say the "ancestor effect" boosts performance on intelligence tests (Fischer, Sauer, Vogrincic and Weisweiler 2011). Writing and thinking about ancestors led students to do better on verbal and spatial tests than those who thought about themselves or friends. Recent studies have also found that learning new languages can enhance neurological functions (Hotz 2012a&b) and help to ward off Alzheimer's disease.

Basu (2001) describes the role of the search for identity as “hunting down home.” Summarizing past works, he concludes that a current anthropological discussion revolves around two topics which compete with each other: a modern view with links identity with “fixity,” and a postmodern one that suggests that personal identity and home are found in movement. Within the context of these two approaches, individuals form identity by personal narratives, telling stories of themselves. He emphasizes the need to address both “the mobile and the static in these narratives of identity” (336).

Linkages and personal narratives rely on language. Much of the personal identity that is so important to the search for one’s roots is tied to language. While language issues are raised from time to time, I am aware of no research that includes a language focus from both the perspective of providers and customers of legacy tourism. This article begins to rectify this gap in the literature. Perhaps the most relevant literature review has to do with the relationship of language to personal identity.

Importance of Language to Personal Identity: Speaking the Language of Our Ancestors and Naming Ourselves

Intuitively, language plays a role in the definition of personal identity. Laroche, Pons, and Richard (2009) specifically address the measurement of the role of language in ethnic identity as “the most salient aspect of ethnic identity” (515), especially in some groups. Ethnic identity is “complex and multidimensional” and they stress “the importance of self-reported measures to capture the dimensions forming ethnic identity” (514). Their research focuses on the use of language (such as in media consumption, with family, and while shopping). Language, of course, is significant for a nation’s identity too (van Oudenhoven, Selenko, and Otten 2010).

Literacy plays a language role in emigration and immigration. In a 2012 webcast, T. M. Devine stated that the Scottish nation was one of the most literate on earth and hence was aware of the opportunities afforded by emigration (Devine 2011).

Even the language of “emigration” and “immigration” takes on importance, as discussed at a recent meeting of the Association of European migration institutions that I attended. As one delegate discussed, one has to be told whether it is an “e” (i.e., emigration) or an “i” (i.e., immigration) that is the subject of a particular narrative. And of course, in today’s political discourse, the immigration includes recent immigrants and their languages (even though this article explores the descendants of centuries-old immigrants). At that same meeting, another delegate discussed the important Dutch community

in Australia (some 300,000 Australians claim Dutch ancestry). People everywhere are now interested in family histories, so language is regaining interest (Peters 2011).

When studying Basques and Basque Americans, Ray and Lete (2007) found 85% of respondents said that their native language is important or very important when defining their personal identity. Of the native Basque speakers, all said it is “very important.” Of those with Basque as a second language (eight in total), all but one said it is important or very important to their personal identity. Indeed, the word for a Basque person in the Basque language, *Euskaldun*, means “one who speaks the Basque language.”

When researching Latvians, Kaupins, Ray, and Berzinz (2009) discovered that English is the native language of 25% of their respondents, and about 77% say that their native language is “very important” as part of their personal identity. Eighteen percent say their native language is somewhat important and 5% say it is not very important. For those who listed a second language, other than their native language (mostly Latvian), about 93% indicated that this second language is important as part of their personal identity. The Basques and the Latvians are generally very concerned with passing on the language to the next generation.

I did not find such concern among Norwegian-Americans. Even though the headquarters of the International Sons of Norway offers online language learning and “language camps,” I found that when a local Lodge was given the opportunity to offer language lessons, there was very little interest among the membership. After all, most Norwegians speak English; one would not need to know Norwegian to travel to Norway to search for one’s personal identity.

“Asymmetrical attitudes between neighbouring nations that share a language but differ in size are general social psychological phenomena that occur across different historical backgrounds” (van Oudenhoven, Selenko, and Otten 2010, 53). Of course, the Scotch-Irish, unlike many immigrants in the new world, shared the English language with British immigrants and Irish immigrants. But they were treated differently from those groups in their new home.

Other than the importance of one’s native language,² the term that is used to describe a diaspora group can be important. And often a term used by group members themselves is unacceptable when used by outsiders. In the case of the Scotch-Irish, the term “Scotch-Irish” is a very American term. At almost every

² There is a resurgence in the language Ulster-Scots, as one can see from the BBC Ulster-Scots website, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ulsterscots>, launched in May 2011. One can learn the Ulster-Scots language via a “word of the day” and other means.

meeting of the Scotch-Irish Society Identity Symposium, “what do we call ourselves” is a topic for discussion and often the subject of in-depth scholarly paper presentations. Even the title of a well-known book on the Scotch-Irish, *The People with No Name* (Griffin 2001), demonstrates the difficulty in naming this group. Linguists such as Montgomery (2011) detail how the name Scotch-Irish has been used as early as 1695. Sometimes, the term historically was used to set the Ulster Presbyterians apart from simply “the Irish” or “the Scots.” Often the term carried more social class distinctions than ethnicity (MacMaster 2011), with the Scotch-Irish (sometimes with parallel use of “Crackers”) being those who “fail to make a go of it” and “take off for the frontiers of Virginia and Carolina.” Miller (2004) elaborates, “‘Scotch-Irish’ ethnicity was rooted ultimately in neither ancestral origin nor even religion, but instead was based on relatively new ‘middle-class’ behavioral standards ... of an emergent Ulster-American bourgeoisie whose goals and ascendancy remained woefully incomplete even in the 1800s” (116–17).

Of course, not only do identities and their labels become diluted, since “identities are not like hats; human beings can and do put on several at a time” (Colley 1992, 6). When colleagues in Canada (e.g., Rogers 2011) talk about the subject, they mention that the term is almost unheard of in Canada and the phrase would be “Ulster-Scots.” Of course, many claim that linguists should follow the old adage that Scotch is a drink, not a people. Yet, the term “Scotch” does creep into some Canadian literature. According to Basu (2001), the Canadian writer Hugh MacLennan writes how his father “had no need to journey to Scotland to know that he was of *Scotch* descent” (343). MacLennan (1961, 1–2) writes “he was neither Scot nor yet was he Scottish; he never used these genteel appellations which are now supposed to be *de rigueur*.”

The linguistic differences between Canada and the US could reflect the very different immigration history of Ulster men and women to these two separate nations of North America. Roe, Schaafsma, and Gutierrez (2009) had a small number of Canadian Scotch-Irish respondents for their research article “Meanings, Functions, Maintenance and Reproduction of Present-day Scotch-Irish Social Identities: The Role of Symbolic Ethnicity.” Not surprisingly, the US pride in being Scotch-Irish due to the American Revolution and later wars, which provided common ethnic history and memory, is not evident in Canada. Additionally, “there did not appear to be a cohesive, but different set of historical roles filled by their ancestors that provided for a shared lived or symbolic ethnic identity” (26). In both nations, MacDonell and Ray (2011) mention that many immigrants (and their descendants) and their identities were diluted as they moved west as part of the “peculiar plight of frontier inhabitants” (Griffin 2001, 124).

METHODOLOGY

Various members of the Sons of Norway in three geographically separate US locations (Fargo, North Dakota [the largest Lodge in the nation]; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Boise, Idaho) were asked to complete a pen-and-paper survey instrument concerning motivations for interest in family history. The survey was derived from feedback from early interviews and terms and phrases in Basu's account of an ancestral tourism group to Orkney (2004). Each potential respondent was asked in person to complete a one-page (two-sided) survey either at the gathering or to be mailed back. Appearing in person at the data gathering events allows the researcher to engage in conversations with respondents. Those of Norwegian heritage are focused on here because of the recent international focus on Norway due to the 2011 killings and the discussion of what it means to be "Norwegian." Also, for Norway, the ancestral homeland is well defined and the present-day boundaries are similar to centuries-old boundaries. In all, 42 Sons of Norway members who have taken a legacy trip comprise the participants for this group. A few other Norwegian-Americans who agreed to be interviewed, but did not complete the same survey as the others, also contributed some qualitative information.

At the 2011 meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions in Aalborg, Denmark, delegates were asked to complete a short survey regarding various ways they have encountered language issues when helping modern day descendants search for emigrant ancestors. I gave a presentation on the subject and concluded my talk by requesting all to participate. Some completed the survey while at the meeting, some emailed a completed version a week or so later. A small number (six) of the total surveys were returned and they provided valuable data from those managing the "roots" institutions.³

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Remembering Grandpa and His Native Language

The Norwegian-American closest to me was interviewed about her own heritage. She specifically was asked when she noticed that "Grandpa" spoke

³ I wish to thank representatives from the following migration institutions, who so kindly contributed data for this article: Institute of Migration, Turku and The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute in Finland, Slovenian Migration Institute at the SRC SASA, Ljubljana, Slovenia, The Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park in Omagh, Northern Ireland, and The Swedish American Center in Sweden.

something other than English and whether teaching her Norwegian was a concern for Grandpa.

I think Tollef did tell stories to my brother, but to me he was very quiet. I remember an accent and that scared me. I remember I thought he was really strange.

I don't remember him speaking Norwegian to anyone, but he was such a quiet person. I remember when my father taught me to count in Norwegian and my mother taught me to call meals in German, which I still remember!

From just these few comments from a close personal contact, we can identify some language legacy issues.

(1) Some cultures are known for being people of few words. If one does not speak much, it may be more difficult to pass that language on to later generations. One author ("Am I loud?" 2009) provides a similar example:

If you've never been in the company of Finns, then you do not understand how truly silent a room can be. I remember actually making the argument to one of my companions when I was a Mormon missionary that the silent nature of Finnish people was a bigger barrier to missionaries learning the language than the ridiculously complex (yet oddly consistent) grammar could ever dream of being. After all, how could you possibly learn a language if you never got a chance to speak with people?

Specific to the Norwegian business culture ("Norwegian Communication Styles," n.d.) is the fact that:

Plain speaking is prized and the more diplomatic approach to communication which can be found in many of the Asian countries, (as well as the UK), can be viewed as evasiveness or even as dishonesty. If you want to convince a Norwegian, tell him the facts in a straightforward and direct manner. Norwegians will tell you they disagree when they do—and they expect the same courtesy from you. ... Silence is golden throughout most of Scandinavia.

Few academic researchers seem to have taken up this line of inquiry. Of the few, Segumpan, Christopher, and Rao (2007, 4) found that a dramatic communication style in which the "communicator manipulates exaggerations ... stories, ... rhythm, voice, and other stylistic devices to highlight or understate content" correlated with length of service to a firm. However, the authors found no significant difference in communication styles based on race or nationality, so findings are mixed.

Of course stereotypical ethnic communication styles do change over time and can exist side by side with seemingly contradictory styles, as is the case in China, according to Fang and Faure (2011, 331). While conducting business, a formal and reserved approach is used for communication, “however, business relationships in China are double-face.” But colleagues also must engage in social activities together. Certainly “the power of silence” (e.g., Giri 2006) is an important part of many cultures. Does this power of silence relate to the availability of recorded documentation?

(2) Often children of immigrants were not exposed to just one culture/language (for example, Norwegians intermarried with Germans). Sometimes, certain languages and words were used for certain events (mealtime) while other languages were used for other events and activities. Anecdotally, second generation children and later descendants often have little knowledge or an incomplete/confused knowledge of the home country’s language. As Colley (1992) indicated, one can have more than one “hat” on at a time.

Why All the Name Changes?

Several Norwegian-Americans gave some specific reasons for interest in family history.

- “See if I can find any relatives in Norway”
- Curiosity (general)
- Curiosity (about medical history)
- “Why immigration to America—Why all the name changes?”
- Discovering sense of place
- Going to Norway for grandparents who were unable to return
- Pride in ancestors/honoring ancestors
- Passing down information to children

Location, Information, and Relatives

Of those in a multiethnic research project, not just Norwegian-Americans, who actually have taken a “legacy” trip (n=667), 74%—the highest percentage—said finding a *specific location* relevant to one’s own ancestor was what they hoped to achieve out of genealogy travel. Close behind (70%) was *seeking information* (say, in libraries). A distant third, but still with 42%, was “finding *living relatives*.”

When helping a spouse or friend, 47% said seeking information was an important reason when seeking ancestors, 42% said finding a specific location relevant to an ancestor of the spouse or friend was important, and 21% wanted to find living relatives of the spouse or friend.

The importance of “finding location” by national affiliation for those who have actually taken a legacy trip shows that the percentages for Norwegians (65%) and Basques (57%) are lower than statistically expected. This is interesting given that the family surname is often taken from the name of an exact name or location of a family farm, such as one finds for the following Basque names:

Goikoetxea — “upper house”

Etxebarría — “new house”

Uberuaga — “by the warm spring”

Elizondo — “by the church”

I was told that the name of the family being researched in Norway, Kallekødt, means “cold place” or “cold spring.”

Some of the major language issues relevant to the legacy tourism experience seem to be family name changes (e.g., “KALLEKØDT” — “THOMPSON”⁴), the meaning of a family name, determining the necessity of learning basic language travel skills, wondering if a translator is needed for reading archival records, being able to figure out old-fashioned handwriting, how diaspora groups refer to themselves (“Scotch-Irish” in US; not in Canada), or learning the language of one’s ancestors (“Learning the Language of Your Ancestors,” *Ancestral Scotland* 2012). Legacy tourists should be referred to language learning sources and regional language learning sources.

In the Highlands, especially in the west and north, Gaelic used to be the dominant language and you can still hear it spoken today If your ancestors were from this Gaelic-speaking region and you’d like to learn some of this ancient language, an ideal starting point is Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Scotland’s only Gaelic college ...

For the rest of Scotland, Scots is the predominant dialect though it varies from area to area. The Scottish Language Dictionaries project, a registered charity, will help you explore the language of your ancestors. Another useful resource is the bilingual Scots Online. (“Learning” 2012)

The above *Ancestral Scotland* discussion emphasized “that all-important sense of place” in conjunction with learning the language of one’s ancestors. Later, “connection with place” along with “personal identity” is shown to be the top-ranked reason why tourists are interested in finding ancestors.

⁴ The family’s working theory is that there was an Uncle Tollef at the time of emigration to North America, therefore in deciding which surname to adopt, the several Kallekødt brothers decided on what they thought was still similar to a family name, but would make life easier in America.

Language help is needed with the simple pronunciation of the area of Norway where the ancestral family farm is, such as how to pronounce *Tysvær*? Norway, like Scotland, has many regional variations in language, so providing regional language referrals is important there as well.

Table 1 shows the results of asking migration institutions' directors how they provide language help to their clients. Research into the meaning of the family surname and the various renditions of that surname can be a valuable service provided by these institutions. In many cases, this language help may be less burdensome than more extensive help, such as translating archival records. Planned references to other organizations (language lessons, local translators, interpreters) could be valuable services to provide too.

TABLE 1. MIGRATION INSTITUTIONS' DIRECTORS
INDICATING CLIENTS' NEEDS FOR LANGUAGE HELP

Reasons why clients need language help	Number of Directors indicating	Percent of total responses
What does family surname mean?	4	20%
Why the changes in the surname?	4	20%
Translation of archival records	3	15%
Help reading old-style script or words	3	15%
Explaining a bit about language and who speaks it ^a	2	10%
Explaining the meaning of the term the group uses to describe itself ^b	2	10%
Help with basic survival travel language	1	5%
Directing to language lessons to learn language of ancestors	1	5%

^a e.g., what is "Basque?" "who speaks it?"

^b e.g., what "Scots-Irish" or "Scotch-Irish" means

The migration institutions contributing to the data are located in Finland, Sweden, Northern Ireland, Italy, and Slovenia. Four of the six directors indicated "somewhat important" (three) or "very important" (one) when asked how important the tracing of ancestors and associated research was to the mission of their institution. One indicated that it was not at all important, but said "we may consider examining in more depth the significance and ways of tracing ancestors in our future projects."

The following represents the typical mission statements of these institutions.

- to assist in migration and ethnic research and to encourage the compilation, storage and documentation of material relating to international and internal migration ... It serves also as a resource site for genealogists.
- to help in interdisciplinary academic research of international migration
- to aid migration research and cultural exchange

When asked to describe how their institution aids those who seek help finding their ancestors, they responded

- providing service in genealogy or referring people to relevant genealogy societies
- looking up information, making genealogical tables from archival sources; contact family ... , show places and sites of ancestral heritage interest (churches, gravestones, homesteads, etc.)
- through a Web site, such as <http://www.altreitalie.it>, to find roots, database on passenger lists (USA, Brazil, Argentina)

The native language of the majority of their clients is English, with some clients speaking Italian and Russian, and their clients mostly need help with Russian, Swedish, Italian, and Irish. All but one (who was neutral) said that the language aid their institution may provide clients asking for help in ancestral searches is either important or very important. Respondents estimate that an average of 19% of legacy tourists (a range of 10 to 30%) meeting with them in person are taking a repeat ancestral trip and around 35% (a range of 10 to 100%) of first-time foreign contacts come to visit their country in order to connect with ancestors.

As can be seen in Table 2, both directors of migration institutions and those who take legacy trips state that the main reasons for such trips are to find a specific location of ancestral importance and to seek information from libraries and archival sources. Some wish to find living relatives of their ancestor. All activities require some local language skills, even for English-speaking searchers and in English-speaking countries (e.g., Irish, Gaelic, etc.). Not to be ignored are those who seek information for a spouse or friend, and those who do professional genealogy work for remuneration. These various types of researchers represent several different groups, all who might need help with the local language.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF
MIGRATION INSTITUTION DIRECTORS AND THEIR CLIENTS:
Whose Ancestor Is Being Researched and What Result Is Sought

	Professionals at Migration Institutions (N=6)/rank in column	Total sample Legacy tourists (N=667)/rank in column	Norwegian- American Legacy tourists (N=59)/rank in column
Researching my own ancestor— % importance of finding specific location	21/(2)	74/(1)	65/(1)
% importance of seeking information in libraries	22/(1)	70/(2)	54/(3)
% importance of finding living relatives	16/(3)	42/(4)	59/(2)
Researching ancestor of spouse or friend— % importance of finding specific location	10/(6)	42/(4)	41/(4)
% importance of seeking information in libraries	8/(8)	47/(3)	34/(5)
% importance of finding living relatives	7/(9)	21/(6)	32/(6)
Professional research service for others— % importance of finding specific location	10/(6)	8/(8)	7/(8)
% importance of seeking information in libraries	11/(4)	16/(7)	15/(7)
% importance of finding living relatives	11/(4)	3/(9)	2/(9)

Finally, from the entire data set and all ethnicities surveyed (Table 3), one can see that consumers of legacy tourism indicated that personal identity, connection with place, and intellectual challenge (the “detective story”) are the main reasons for interest in family history. As discussed earlier, the language of one’s ancestors is often an important part of that personal identity and

often one needs language help to connect with place (using travel language to be able to get to an old homestead, being able to read an old gravestone).

TABLE 3. REASONS FOR INTEREST IN FAMILY HISTORY

(1,024 of total n=1,057 responding)

Motivations indicated by entire data set	Percent of Respondents Indicating
Personal identity	43
Connection with place	42.9
Intellectual challenge	33.1
Obligation to ancestors	30.8
Discovering continuities	27.5
Completing the circle	19.3
Quest	14.6
Finding oneself	13.7
Closing the gap	9.9
Recovery of social identity	9.7
Remainder (pilgrimage, home-coming, true home, sacred, community, magical feeling, inward journey)	8 or fewer

CONCLUSION AND MANAGERIAL SUGGESTIONS

Legacy tourism is an increasingly important sub-segment of tourism in many countries, fueled partly by an aging population, popular television shows, and planned national events (Scotland's Homecoming in 2009). Most often those seeking their roots have ancestors who did not necessarily speak the language or dialect of those modern day seekers. There are at least three segments of legacy tourists who may be seeking language help from migration and similar institutions, and these groups are interrelated. Those who seek help finding their own ancestors and the professionals they have hired may be obvious. Less obvious, but also important, are those who help a spouse or friend. I am such an example (researching family in Norway for mother-in-law). Such groups should be targeted as well by migration and similar institutions, perhaps proposing the "gift" of finding ancestors of someone close to them. While the personal emotions of identity and connection with place (and even living relatives) are main motivations, the pure challenge (the

detective story) should not be overlooked. This curiosity could be exploited and directed to language learning opportunities.

While Norwegian-Americans were emphasized in this paper, data from all ethnic groups appearing in a sample of over 1,000, with 667 of those categorized as “legacy tourists,” are remarkably similar. Thus managers and directors can formulate similar marketing strategies for all of their patrons and clients seeking their roots—those increasingly important legacy tourists.

Future researchers will continue to examine the importance of actually getting to a physical place and will also expand their studies to include associated aspects of the legacy tourism bundle. One example is understanding the role that language understanding and learning can play in the experience. Some nations may begin to follow Scotland’s lead to explain and promote “learning the language of your ancestors” (2011). And future researchers should further explore the importance (or lack of it) of the perceived style of various cultures (such as loud, quiet, reserved) and if that style is related to the amount of record keeping, description, and oral history.

Whatever the diasporic origin of the respondents studied, there appears to be a personal identity motivation that prompts modern day consumers to experience a home not seen but inherited from our ancestors and request help interpreting the experience.

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